

WEST EUROPE

75,000 Basques shout pro-ETA slogans at Pamplona rally

Pamplona, Aug. 28.—Tens of thousands of Basque nationalists converged on a rainy hillside today, after a six-week propaganda march across northern Spain, to shout slogans for autonomy and political freedom. It was their biggest authorized rally since the Spanish civil war 40 years ago.

Thousands of other demonstrators were kept away by rain-soaked but smiling, four columns of about 1,000 markers were greeted with shouts of "Long live Basque liberty" from a crowd estimated at more than 75,000 people as police helicopters circled overhead.

Despite threats from right-wingers and police restrictions, organizers of the "Basque Freedom March" called the rally a show of strength that the Government could not ignore.

Waving hundreds of green, white and red Basque flags and shouting slogans of the Basque guerrilla organization ETA, thousands of people walked to a valley outside Pamplona for a meeting of 15 Basque parties including anarchists and Maoists.

Speakers called for amnesty for all political crimes, for autonomy and for the release of Basque prisoners. Angel Apalategui, the ETA leader who is facing extradition from France in connection with a political murder and kidnapping earlier this year, the crowd yelled: "ETA, the people are with you."

With Señor Adolfo Suárez,

the Prime Minister, encouraging decentralization, both the Catalans in the Barcelona area and the Basques have been pressing for home rule. The Government has indicated that the Catalans will be given autonomy early in September.

The rally ended a march by 3,500 people, in relays, through the Basque regions of both France and Spain. The Pamplona civil government authorized the rally but ordered it to be held in barle yfields four miles outside the city to avoid possible confrontations with right-wingers.

Wearing T-shirts demanding "Revolution, Liberty and Amnesty" and carrying banners before the start of the rally, the Basque marchers shook their fists and chanted "Assassins" at the police helicopters flying over the hills.

Paramilitary Civil Guards set up checkpoints 20 miles outside Pamplona, causing traffic jams and forcing hundreds to turn back from the rally. Only about 500 people, mostly foreigners or journalists, were allowed into the city the night before.

In Algiers, the Canary Islands separatist movement held seven of its members who went on hunger strike 16 days ago in Las Palmas central prison have been moved to prisons in Spain. A spokesman said three of them were critically ill.

In Palma, Majorca, King Juan Carlos has ended speculation that he will be Spain's first bearded king for 400 years. He has shaved off the two-week-old beard that he grew during a holiday in the island.

Agence France-Presse and UPI

Pressure to end wage restraint in France

From Ian Murray
Paris, Aug. 28

With President Giscard d'Estaing in the chair, ministers will tomorrow begin work on the final draft of the 1978 budget. The task is made more difficult by the general election next year, rising prices, unemployment and trade union pressure to end wage restraint.

Mr. Barre, the Prime Minister, has already promised that the budget will contain "neither sweets nor salt" and he will not give way to the temptation to reflate the economy in order to win the election.

The Communist (CGT) and Socialist (CFDT) trade union confederations, which are widely organized in the gas and electricity industries, have decided to call out their members on an action "in support of a strike" on September 1.

They are the first large industrial group to come up for a second wage settlement since Mr. Barre took over a year ago. Their fight to break through the wage restraint barrier set up under the "Barre plan" will be closely watched by workers in other industries.

The regular annual meeting of M. Georges Seguy, the CGT leader, and M. Edmond Maire, of the CFDT, will be held Wednesday. It was time to discuss their plans of action for the year ahead. The July price index shows an increase of 0.9 per cent.

A special Cabinet meeting on Wednesday is to review the unemployment problem, which M. Barre has been studying at first hand in five of the most depressed areas. The unions are calling for swift action to reduce the unemployment figure of 1,385,596.

Against this background the political arguments of the right and left continue. M. Jacques Chirac, the leader of the Gaullist Rassemblement, in a speech at Périgueux on Friday night, said that it was time to take immediate action for a selective reflation of the economy.

He called for improvement in credit terms and salaries and said that the country had to make an immediate effort to face up to the needs of social progress. France's problem was how to move out of the world crisis and this would require all its energies.

M. Chirac's call to reflate the economy is clearly an attempt to spark the electoral guns of the Union of the Left. The leaders of the left continue to affirm that despite their differences they will achieve a new common programme when they meet next month.



The F15 supersonic fighter of which three squadrons have recently arrived in Bitburg to build up United States Air Force strength in West Germany.

Firing test disappoints US officers

From Henry Stanhope
Defence Correspondent
Ramsen, West Germany, Aug. 28

United States Air Force officers have admitted their disappointment with the results of last Thursday's demonstration by the new A10 close support aircraft, its first live firing trials in Europe.

Six A10s dropped 7.5 tons of bombs and pumped 4,000 13mm

shells into and around a target tank during the display near the Czechoslovak border.

The accuracy of the bombing was mixed, with one bomb failing to explode.

The strafing demonstration by the aircraft's GAU-8 anti-tank cannon was more impressive, but two of the aircraft did not fire it, for reasons that are still to be explained.

One officer at the USAF headquarters here commented: "We are looking into this. We were not impressed by it either."

He thought that the crews had not yet adjusted to European conditions after training in the desert in Arizona. But it has not dented Air Force enthusiasm for the A10

itself, whose attracious unit recently have been overshadowed by supersonic machines like the F14 and F15.

Now the A10, a relatively cheap, simple subsonic aircraft, is moving to the centre of the stage as the allies point with growing anxiety to the disparity in armour Nato and the Warsaw Pact armies in Central Europe.

The Americans plan to station two wings of A10s, each with about 72 aircraft, in West Germany within the next few years. It has not yet been decided which squadrons they will replace—if any. Three squadrons of F15 aircraft which recently arrived in Bitburg have been accepted as additions to present strength.

Five E German dissidents emigrate to West

From Gertel Spitzer
Rome, Aug. 28

East Germany has allowed five dissidents to emigrate to the West, but has increased the house arrest restrictions on its Marxist critic, Professor Robert Havemann, in East Berlin.

Gertel Spitzer and Christian Kuhnert, ballet dancers and composers, and Jürgen Fuchs, an author, arrived in West Berlin yesterday.

The previous day Professor Helmut Nitsche, a German language scholar, and Dr Karl Heinz Nitsche, a physician, who had both been held in prison for interrogation because of their campaign for human

rights in East Germany, arrived in the city. It is expected that the men's families will be allowed to join them soon.

Herz Kuhnert and Herr Kuhnert were arrested last November because of their protest against the expulsion of the singer Wolf Biermann. Herr Fuchs was arrested in the same month after the publication in West Germany of a book which was critical of East Germany.

Professor Nitsche and his wife Ursula were arrested last April after writing to President Egon Krenz to draw his attention to the violation of human rights. Professor Nitsche had earlier applied three times to be permitted to leave East Germany with his wife and their two children. His wife has also been released from prison. Dr Nitsche was arrested last

September after drafting a petition which demanded full human rights in East Germany. It was signed by about 100 citizens and sent to the United Nations.

Professor Havemann has been under house arrest since last November when he protested in public against the expulsion of Hans Biermann. He was forbidden all contact with Western journalists, but he was allowed to leave his home occasionally and travel inside East Germany under supervision, and receive visitors from relatives.

Informal sources have said Professor Havemann was told last Tuesday that he was restricted to his house again, his relatives could no longer visit him and guards would be posted in his garden as well as around his house.

Problem of appropriate punishment

Jailed war criminals become symbols

From Sue Masterman
Vienna, Aug. 28

There are several thousand people still on the run because of offences committed in the Second World War. The whereabouts of several hundred are known, but they are immune from prosecution because either no witnesses are alive or the countries where they now live have no extradition agreement with those in which they would be tried.

Six war criminals are still awaiting trial in jails in Europe. Apart from the well-known case of Rudolf Hess in Spandau jail, there are three West German war criminals in the Netherlands, one in prison in Poland, and one Austrian in jail in Italy.

In West Germany, 24 war criminals are serving sentences imposed long after the war, and in Holland two war criminals, both Dutch nationals, have recently been jailed.

At the end of the war, many prominent Nazis fled. Some had their escapes arranged by pro-Nazi organizations such as the Odessa, and today there are still organizations operating from former Third Reich territory who use funds raised away during the war in secret bank accounts.

The six surviving life sentences have become symbols. However, their crimes, they are often small fry compared with those who are still free. Nor can the crimes be measured in terms of a gross-day criminal law. How can a modern system split between the punishment due to a man who was responsible for the death of 20,000 deported Jews, and one who has been in the order to execute 300 resistance men?

Since the escape of Herbert Kappler, the former SS colonel, from a Rome hospital on August 15, the cases of the other prisoners have been recalled.

Walter Reder, aged 68, a former SS major, is held in Italy's highest security prison near Naples. His quarters are like a modern apartment. He has the status of political prisoner with the right, as an officer, to an orderly to serve him. Herr Reder is Austrian and his government has petitioned several times for his release.

The Italian Government asked 289 survivors of the village where he massacred almost 2,000 men, women and children to vote for or against his release. Those voting against numbered 209.

In the Brda jail in Holland are Franz Fischer, aged 75, and Ferdinand aus der Fünfen, aged 67. Herr Fischer, who sent 15,000 Dutch Jews to the gas chambers, and Herr aus der Fünfen who was responsible for the liquidation of 1,100 Jewish hospital patients, were sentenced to death after the war but were reprieved.

The third Brda jail war criminal, Josef Köttele, aged 67, a former camp guard who specialized in the torture of prisoners, is at present in hospital. The suggestion that these three might be freed, made by the Dutch Minister of Justice in 1972, nearly brought down the coalition Government.

Brda Köttele, case of Köttele's capture and most fervent supporters and later Nazi Gauleiter of East Prussia and north-east Poland responsible for the extermination of thousands of Jews, is still in jail in Poland. His sentence has never been commuted.

West Germany and Holland have continued to prosecute their own nationals who are guilty of war crimes, despite rising public opinion which claims it is time to forget the war, Austria and Italy, in comparison, have a poor prosecution record.

Dr Simon Wiesenthal, the Nazi-hunter, has renounced the search for Austrian war criminals and has turned his attention to recent prosecution has led to a conviction. However, he has refused to give up the hunt for others further afield.

Volvo breaks off merger

From Our Correspondent
Stockholm, Aug. 28

The Volvo group announced today that it was breaking off negotiations with the car and lorry manufacturers, Saab-Scania, over a proposed merger. The Volvo president, told a press conference in Göteborg: "Volvo can no longer await the results of Saab-Scania's internal discussions, but must push ahead with its own development programme."

Volvo has therefore decided to break off negotiations concerning a merger. One factor which concerned the Saab board was Volvo's declining profits. In a separate statement, Volvo's chairman, Göran Persson, said the pre-merger profit during the first half of the year was 204m kronor (£24m) compared with 346m kronor for the same period last year. Sales were unchanged at about 334,000 cars.

Properties under £25,000

LOVELY DETACHED HOUSE
Situating in quiet, tree-lined road, 10 minutes from town centre. Accommodation: 4 bedrooms, 2 bathrooms, large kitchen, living room, dining room, study, garage. Price: £17,500. Contact: 01-234 5678.

BRIGHTON FAMILY HOUSE
Well-kept, modernized, 3 bedrooms, 2 bathrooms, large kitchen, living room, dining room, study, garage. Price: £14,950. Contact: 01-234 5678.

RAMSGATE HOLIDAY HOME
Detached house, 3 bedrooms, 2 bathrooms, large kitchen, living room, dining room, study, garage. Price: £12,500. Contact: 01-234 5678.

DORSET SPACIOUS MODERN BUNGALOW
Ideal retirement or holiday home. 2 bedrooms, 2 bathrooms, large kitchen, living room, dining room, study, garage. Price: £15,500. Contact: 01-234 5678.

WEYBRIDGE
Newly built, 3 bedrooms, 2 bathrooms, large kitchen, living room, dining room, study, garage. Price: £18,500. Contact: 01-234 5678.

BILLINGSHURST, SUSSEX
Detached house, 3 bedrooms, 2 bathrooms, large kitchen, living room, dining room, study, garage. Price: £16,500. Contact: 01-234 5678.

THATCHED COTTAGE
Suffolk, 2 bedrooms, 2 bathrooms, large kitchen, living room, dining room, study, garage. Price: £14,500. Contact: 01-234 5678.

A BARGAIN AT £20,000
A detached house of character, 3 bedrooms, 2 bathrooms, large kitchen, living room, dining room, study, garage. Price: £20,000. Contact: 01-234 5678.

WALE
Overlooking the White Cliffs, 3 bedrooms, 2 bathrooms, large kitchen, living room, dining room, study, garage. Price: £19,500. Contact: 01-234 5678.

Country property
COOKHAM VILLAGE
Situating in quiet, tree-lined road, 10 minutes from town centre. Accommodation: 4 bedrooms, 2 bathrooms, large kitchen, living room, dining room, study, garage. Price: £17,500. Contact: 01-234 5678.

OLD VICARAGE
Situating in quiet, tree-lined road, 10 minutes from town centre. Accommodation: 4 bedrooms, 2 bathrooms, large kitchen, living room, dining room, study, garage. Price: £17,500. Contact: 01-234 5678.

LUXURY 4 BED BUNGALOW
Situating in quiet, tree-lined road, 10 minutes from town centre. Accommodation: 4 bedrooms, 2 bathrooms, large kitchen, living room, dining room, study, garage. Price: £17,500. Contact: 01-234 5678.

ATTRACTIVE HOLIDAY BUNGALOW
Situating in quiet, tree-lined road, 10 minutes from town centre. Accommodation: 4 bedrooms, 2 bathrooms, large kitchen, living room, dining room, study, garage. Price: £17,500. Contact: 01-234 5678.

ATTRACTIVE DETACHED HOUSE
Situating in quiet, tree-lined road, 10 minutes from town centre. Accommodation: 4 bedrooms, 2 bathrooms, large kitchen, living room, dining room, study, garage. Price: £17,500. Contact: 01-234 5678.

RURAL RETREAT
Situating in quiet, tree-lined road, 10 minutes from town centre. Accommodation: 4 bedrooms, 2 bathrooms, large kitchen, living room, dining room, study, garage. Price: £17,500. Contact: 01-234 5678.

SALE ROOMS
Situating in quiet, tree-lined road, 10 minutes from town centre. Accommodation: 4 bedrooms, 2 bathrooms, large kitchen, living room, dining room, study, garage. Price: £17,500. Contact: 01-234 5678.

CHINESE SILK EMBROIDERY
Situating in quiet, tree-lined road, 10 minutes from town centre. Accommodation: 4 bedrooms, 2 bathrooms, large kitchen, living room, dining room, study, garage. Price: £17,500. Contact: 01-234 5678.

LITTLE VILLAGE
Situating in quiet, tree-lined road, 10 minutes from town centre. Accommodation: 4 bedrooms, 2 bathrooms, large kitchen, living room, dining room, study, garage. Price: £17,500. Contact: 01-234 5678.

PUBLISHERS, W.11
Situating in quiet, tree-lined road, 10 minutes from town centre. Accommodation: 4 bedrooms, 2 bathrooms, large kitchen, living room, dining room, study, garage. Price: £17,500. Contact: 01-234 5678.

ENJOY YOUR HOLIDAY
Situating in quiet, tree-lined road, 10 minutes from town centre. Accommodation: 4 bedrooms, 2 bathrooms, large kitchen, living room, dining room, study, garage. Price: £17,500. Contact: 01-234 5678.

TOP FLIGHT TEMPORARIES
Situating in quiet, tree-lined road, 10 minutes from town centre. Accommodation: 4 bedrooms, 2 bathrooms, large kitchen, living room, dining room, study, garage. Price: £17,500. Contact: 01-234 5678.

THEIR WORTH
Situating in quiet, tree-lined road, 10 minutes from town centre. Accommodation: 4 bedrooms, 2 bathrooms, large kitchen, living room, dining room, study, garage. Price: £17,500. Contact: 01-234 5678.

NON-SECRETARIAL
Situating in quiet, tree-lined road, 10 minutes from town centre. Accommodation: 4 bedrooms, 2 bathrooms, large kitchen, living room, dining room, study, garage. Price: £17,500. Contact: 01-234 5678.

HOW MUCH ARE YOU WORTH?
Situating in quiet, tree-lined road, 10 minutes from town centre. Accommodation: 4 bedrooms, 2 bathrooms, large kitchen, living room, dining room, study, garage. Price: £17,500. Contact: 01-234 5678.

SECRETARIES STEP INTO
Situating in quiet, tree-lined road, 10 minutes from town centre. Accommodation: 4 bedrooms, 2 bathrooms, large kitchen, living room, dining room, study, garage. Price: £17,500. Contact: 01-234 5678.

JAYCAR CAREERS
Situating in quiet, tree-lined road, 10 minutes from town centre. Accommodation: 4 bedrooms, 2 bathrooms, large kitchen, living room, dining room, study, garage. Price: £17,500. Contact: 01-234 5678.

YOUNG AND ENTERPRETING
Situating in quiet, tree-lined road, 10 minutes from town centre. Accommodation: 4 bedrooms, 2 bathrooms, large kitchen, living room, dining room, study, garage. Price: £17,500. Contact: 01-234 5678.

COLLEGE LEAVES SECURE
Situating in quiet, tree-lined road, 10 minutes from town centre. Accommodation: 4 bedrooms, 2 bathrooms, large kitchen, living room, dining room, study, garage. Price: £17,500. Contact: 01-234 5678.

JOYCE GUINNESS BUREAU
Situating in quiet, tree-lined road, 10 minutes from town centre. Accommodation: 4 bedrooms, 2 bathrooms, large kitchen, living room, dining room, study, garage. Price: £17,500. Contact: 01-234 5678.

HIGH SUCCESS RATE
Situating in quiet, tree-lined road, 10 minutes from town centre. Accommodation: 4 bedrooms, 2 bathrooms, large kitchen, living room, dining room, study, garage. Price: £17,500. Contact: 01-234 5678.

STELLA FISHER TOMORROW
Situating in quiet, tree-lined road, 10 minutes from town centre. Accommodation: 4 bedrooms, 2 bathrooms, large kitchen, living room, dining room, study, garage. Price: £17,500. Contact: 01-234 5678.

WHICH TEMPS ARE YOU TEMPS?
Situating in quiet, tree-lined road, 10 minutes from town centre. Accommodation: 4 bedrooms, 2 bathrooms, large kitchen, living room, dining room, study, garage. Price: £17,500. Contact: 01-234 5678.

CONSUMER CREDIT ACT 1974
Situating in quiet, tree-lined road, 10 minutes from town centre. Accommodation: 4 bedrooms, 2 bathrooms, large kitchen, living room, dining room, study, garage. Price: £17,500. Contact: 01-234 5678.

UNIVERSITY OF STRATHCLYDE
Situating in quiet, tree-lined road, 10 minutes from town centre. Accommodation: 4 bedrooms, 2 bathrooms, large kitchen, living room, dining room, study, garage. Price: £17,500. Contact: 01-234 5678.

LEGAL APPOINTMENTS
Situating in quiet, tree-lined road, 10 minutes from town centre. Accommodation: 4 bedrooms, 2 bathrooms, large kitchen, living room, dining room, study, garage. Price: £17,500. Contact: 01-234 5678.

GUYS HOSPITAL MEDICAL & DENTAL SCHOOLS
Situating in quiet, tree-lined road, 10 minutes from town centre. Accommodation: 4 bedrooms, 2 bathrooms, large kitchen, living room, dining room, study, garage. Price: £17,500. Contact: 01-234 5678.

LOOKING FOR TWO TEACHERS OR MARRIED COUPLE ENGLISH
Situating in quiet, tree-lined road, 10 minutes from town centre. Accommodation: 4 bedrooms, 2 bathrooms, large kitchen, living room, dining room, study, garage. Price: £17,500. Contact: 01-234 5678.

EDUCATIONAL
Situating in quiet, tree-lined road, 10 minutes from town centre. Accommodation: 4 bedrooms, 2 bathrooms, large kitchen, living room, dining room, study, garage. Price: £17,500. Contact: 01-234 5678.

COMMERCIAL SERVICES
Situating in quiet, tree-lined road, 10 minutes from town centre. Accommodation: 4 bedrooms, 2 bathrooms, large kitchen, living room, dining room, study, garage. Price: £17,500. Contact: 01-234 5678.


COOK/HOUSEKEEPER
Situating in quiet, tree-lined road, 10 minutes from town centre. Accommodation: 4 bedrooms, 2 bathrooms, large kitchen, living room, dining room, study, garage. Price: £17,500. Contact: 01-234 5678.

NOTICE
Situating in quiet, tree-lined road, 10 minutes from town centre. Accommodation: 4 bedrooms, 2 bathrooms, large kitchen, living room, dining room, study, garage. Price: £17,500. Contact: 01-234 5678.

THE TIMES
Situating in quiet, tree-lined road, 10 minutes from town centre. Accommodation: 4 bedrooms, 2 bathrooms, large kitchen, living room, dining room, study, garage. Price: £17,500. Contact: 01-234 5678.

THE SCOTSMAN

Management Game '78



**not so much a game,
more a question of
survival**

As in real life business, survival of the fittest is what "The Scotsman" Management Game is all about.

We believe it to be the most sophisticated computer-based management game readily available to companies, public organisations and individuals throughout the United Kingdom, and as such it is an invaluable training exercise involving the practical application of all aspects of the management function.


Teams take the complete spectrum of business decisions from the information provided and then they have the opportunity to study the results, both good and bad. It's great experience and it's great fun.

If you would like to know more, contact us now for further details, or get in touch with the British Institute of Management, Management House, Parker Street, London WC2P 6PT. If writing to B.I.M. mark your envelope "The Scotsman Management Game". If telephoning, ask for Mr. W. Cocking, Head of Regional Development, tel. 01-405 3455.

**IN ASSOCIATION WITH THE BRITISH
INSTITUTE OF MANAGEMENT**

BIM

TRAVEL PRIZES BY AIR CANADA
with the co-operation of The Scottish Council
(Development & Industry) and The Institute
of Chartered Accountants of Scotland.



For full details of the 1978 "Scotsman" Management Game complete the coupon below and send to: The Scotsman Management Game, The Scotsman, 20 North Bridge, Edinburgh EH1 1YT.

NAME.....
COMPANY.....
ADDRESS.....

Crockford's: the rise and fall of a card club

Edward Mayer remembers bridge in the West End

In the card world of the 1930s a mystical halo surrounded the name Crockford's. The club whose name became synonymous for a generation with contract bridge had no connexion with the gaming house established by Mr Crockford, the fishmonger of St James's, who prospered so greatly during the reign of George IV that he could afford a new and more substantial building, later to become the home of the Devonshire Club. The circumstances of Mr Crockford's death inspired Dorothy Sayers to write her great detective story, *The Unpleasantness at the Bellona Club*. The old man was left sitting in his favourite chair, all to see as if he were alive when he had died a day earlier. Large sums had been wagered on his horse in the Derby and it would have been a disaster for backers if the colt had been compulsorily scratched owing to his owner's death.

With the accession of Queen Victoria and the disrepute into which public gaming houses were beginning to fall came the closure of many famous clubs including Almacks and Crockford's; the gaming acts of the 1840s delivered their quietus. Yet in the privacy of highest social clubs, like White's and Brook's, speculative card games for high stakes continued to be played when they were supposed to be extinct. Such exclusive clubs were apparently not coming gaming houses in the eyes of the law and, as far as I know, steps were not taken to close their card-rooms.

Whist (and, later, bridge) was not regarded as illegal, despite the definition of an unlawful game being unusually wide (it is a game into which any element of chance enters, and appears to cover any game of speculation except noughts and crosses). The leading London card club was The Portland, born in 1824, which had risen like a Phoenix from the ashes of the Stratford Club: an offensive member was killing it, by driving members elsewhere. In order to get rid of him (because he could not be expelled) the committee closed the club one day and opened the doors on the morning under another name. That is how a new club was, and is, born.

Except at old-established West End clubs, games such as poker were played almost entirely in private houses. During the 1920's professional gamblers resorted to flats for discreet sessions of roulette, chemin-de-fer and poker, charging table-money according to the stake and risking loss from their clients' failure to pay card-losses. The premises were frequently changed and there was little danger of a police raid.

Social clubs confined to women had never been popular although several such as the Ladies Carlton were founded early in the century. After the first war there sprang up a number of mixed clubs run for profit but not owned by the members. The "Cock and Hen" clubs catered specially for bridge players who could be sure of finding a rubber say afternoon or evening at a stake suited to their purse. Members were expected to pay their losses promptly, were charged session fees, but were not liable for the overheads because they did not own their clubs. The principal mixed card club in the 1920's was Almacks (the name had been taken from the Georgian gaming club which folded in the previous century) and it occupied a substantial corner house at 1 Hyde Park Place.

Almacks enjoyed an excellent reputation. The stakes were moderately high for the time—10s and £1 a hundred—good social standing; but the meals and service were not up to the standard expected in a West End club. The owners lived on the premises and discouraged members from playing bridge after midnight when the fines for late play would have produced a substantial extra income.

A feature peculiar to the mixed club was the regular presence of hosts or hostesses, who were usually the owners or friends who were hired to help conduct the card rooms. They settled disputes and made up incomplete tables; their endurance, patience, and gentility were exceptional and they were not highly paid because they were supposed to win money.

The owners of the mixed clubs lived rent free and had the run of their teeth, but scarcely made a fortune. At Almacks they were accused of meanness, of allowing the club to go downhill and of being more concerned with their own than with their members' comfort.

Its geographical situation was not ideal for it offered no view of the Snob's Commandment: "Never live north of the Park". By 1927 the members of Almacks were openly discussing the poor service provided and were talking of migration to another club; unfortunately for them there was no mixed club in Mayfair of similar prestige. One of the principal dissent was a Lt Col H. R. Beasley, a gallant retired officer of considerable charm who eked out a pension by playing bridge for modest stakes. His skill at the game was above average, he had written a small book on auction as early as 1909, and he devoted all his time to the game. It meant a considerable loss to him that

there was no bridge in the early hours of the morning.

In 1926 the new game of contract spread across America like a forest fire but was not yet fully established in London. It was initially more speculative than whist but the bidding and scoring suggested to the novice that he would have a better run for his money at the new game as soon as he had mastered the elements. Lt Col "Pops" Beasley was one of the first players in England to study contract. He saw an opportunity to take advantage of the troubles at Almacks by forming a new mixed club for which contract was to provide the foundation stone on which to build, but which would be supported by a much more lucrative game. Bridge alone could not provide more than sufficient for the rent, rates and services of a club, as had already been proved by other card clubs with larger memberships. The money came from poker which was illegal, and the immediate success of Crockford's was in large measure due to the provision of both games on the same premises in luxurious surroundings.

A Mrs Beatrice Bates who conducted a regular poker game in her flat at Queen's Gate, Kensington, had a faithful following, but she was having difficulty in expanding their numbers. She was persuaded by Beasley to join forces with him in a new club to which she would bring her friends while he drew from Almacks's most suitable members together with others who were interested in contract for which no club was yet providing accommodation. A limited liability company was registered in which those who advanced money received shares among them was Sir Walter Peacock, secretary to the Prince of Wales, through whom the nobility in addition to the gentry would be attracted to the house in Mayfair.

Apart from securing premises, "Pops" and Beasley (as they were known) had to find a name for the new club. She found the answer in a snippet of the *Evening Standard* under the heading "100 years ago". It described the opening of Mr Crockford's sumptuous new premises at the top of St James's Street.

A house had been rented at 22 Hertford Street, Park Lane, with sufficient living accommodation for Bates and Beasley in addition to rooms for bridge and poker on separate floors. On the ground floor a dining room, opening out of the entrance hall, would seat 35 at a pinch. Behind it was a bar leading to the principal bridge room, and at the end of the hall was a little room for visitors and for those who did not wish to play cards. On the first floor a magnificent drawing room was adapted for bridge, and there remained rooms on the half landings easily converted into private flats with further bedrooms for staff on the top floor.

The creation of a new cock-and-hen club needed careful preparation if it were to be successful because it would prosper or die like a theatrical play depending on the smoothness of the opening night and the words that would go round the clubs in the next few days. As soon as furnishing was complete and staff engaged, every socially eligible card player who could be expected to play the club stakes was invited to a celebration party in the new premises. Guests were bidden for refreshments at 8 pm and substantial dishes with unlimited champagne and other wines created the right atmosphere. Dinner jackets and evening dress were *de rigueur*. The trickiest part of the business was persuading strangers to make up tables.

Bates was an old hand at marshalling her clients, bringing together seven to make up a full poker table whenever possible. The bridge players were less eager to leave the dining-room and when they were enjoying the fine entertainment; so hostesses were sent to round them up. One of them would say to a *non-venue* "Do you mind if I take you to the table with the Duchesse?" or to one of the professionals "Do me a favour and get Mary to take her glass with her as we must get a rubber started" (before guests thought of going home).

As soon as two or three tables had been organized and the bridge was well underway, printed application forms for membership were placed before the players, together with *win and loss* cards. No one failed to sign the candidate's form after such a generous welcome, nor was it possible he were playing on credit. Proposers and seconders were furnished by the management, and the annual subscription was a mere £10 with no entrance fee at this stage. Although Crockford's attracted members who were keen to play contract because there was as yet no other club where it had taken root, I must explain the mechanics of its finances because there was no substantial profit from the bridge.

The annual subscription was low, excellent meals were supplied at a loss, and the profits from the bars barely covered the cost of service. The overheads were higher than those of West End clubs, where there were no hosts and hostesses and a member of the committee was exceptionally busy because he kept a girl friend in Paris whom he visited every week. He also humorously suggested that I need not carry the initials H.S. on the radiator-guard of my Hispano-Suiza just to advertise that he had paid for it. Players who do not round losing

and one small error of judgment could prove more expensive than a week's table loss. The accounts were rendered weekly and there were few bad debts. Winners were paid punctually out of a "float" of £7,000 which was never "in the red" until Bates withdrew from her partnership in Crockford's and formed a new club in her own name.

The bridge float would soon have evaporated if it had been fed solely from the card money. Even if there were six tables in the afternoon and 3/4 tables after dinner, 50 players would be paying only £25, which would not have been sufficient to provide for bad debts and to keep Colonel and Mrs Beasley in luxury. But there was a more substantial source of revenue which had no connexion with the poker, although poker produced a far longer income from a similar source.

Play did not cease when the daily sessions ended officially at 8 pm and 12.30 am, although most players enjoyed a break for dinner. Those who carried on were fined for exceeding the permitted hours. The minimum fine for an extra hour's play was 10s, and at dinner-time it rarely brought in more than £2 because most players went home to change for dinner. Beasley used to disappear at about 7 pm and reappeared so quickly in his dinner-jacket that he was scarcely ever missed before he was available for a game. The hostesses usually played until 8 pm if required, but became reticent at 7.30 when they were thinking already of the night session.

Beasley was as tireless as any Colonel of a regiment, straight of back and clear of eye; his favourite time of the day was between 7.15 and 8.15 pm when the champagne cocktails were circulating and gossip abounded. I never saw him the worse for drink in the course of 15 years, but it gave him a bidding an individual kind of optimism. When it was his turn to deal, he would be inclined to open the bidding by saying "I am going Two No Trumps blind", and he frightened some of his opponents into passing when the weight of cards was all on their side. He liked to give the impression of being a wild gambler, whereas he was really quite a shrewd player within the limitations of his technique.

The fines from play after 12.30 am alone would have turned Crockford's into a goldmine, if Bates and Beasley had been skilful enough to hold their own. Even when there were only one table at poker, which broke up at 2.30 am it produced in two hours £14 in fines which was more than came from two tables of bridge. After 2.00 am fines were doubled every hour, and players sometimes went to bed with their eyes closing against their will at 7.00 am, having had £100 or more added to their weekly bills.

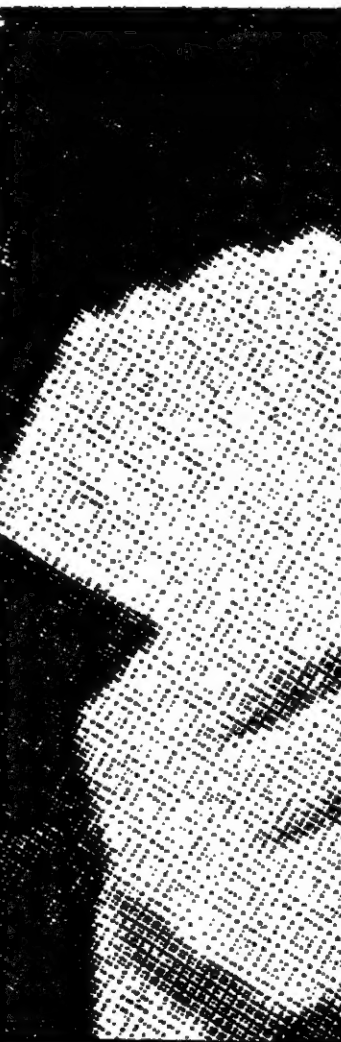
The success of Crockford's was partly due to the atmosphere of political uncertainty and depression through which the world was passing—a far greater slump than that which in the past three years. It was the arrival of Ely Culbertson in Europe with a plan to sell his bridge system which infected Beasley with the desire to emulate him. Before the first match in 1930 when the Crockford team was decisively defeated (a single finesse in a slam contract would have given the club victory), Beasley had concentrated on building up the membership, maintaining the quality of the meals and encouraging the prosperity of Crockford's. To give an idea of the profits then being made he engaged Brigadier-General Sir Ormonde Winter, retired Commander of the Black and Tans in Ireland, to look after the catering. Ormonde had challenged the chef of the Berengaria to a duel in cookery on board the liner with the passengers as judges of their concoctions, and he had emerged victorious. Beasley fired him later for extravagance, but by then the intense rivalry of the club were being neglected in favour of international bridge matches. I cannot speak about the poker which continued to flourish under Bates. But the time was coming when she claimed her share of the profits; she had no enforceable arrangement on paper with Crockford's Ltd and she believed that a large sum of money was building up from table-money and fines in which she would have a half-share.

The membership of the club was roughly divided between amateurs and professionals, the former outnumbering the latter by about 20 to one. Except for three or four bridge players of both sexes, the big winners came from the poker room where the late game was a test of endurance.

For most of the losers bridge was the cheapest recreation which they enjoyed. The Duchesse of Roxburghe, who could afford to rent a salmon river in Norway for her husband's recreation at a cost of £17,000 a year would scarcely have noticed a loss at cards. One of my friends (and clients) named Harvey Solomon told me quite seriously that he was exceptionally busy because he kept a girl friend in Paris whom he visited every week. He also humorously suggested that I need not carry the initials H.S. on the radiator-guard of my Hispano-Suiza just to advertise that he had paid for it. Players who do not round losing



Above from top:
Sir Guy Donville,
the Duchess of Roxburghe,
Lt Col H. "Pops" Beasley.
Right: Mr Edward Mayer
at Crockford's, 1932.



large income by ignoring Mrs Bates and devoting all his energies to winning international fame at the new game.

The first match after the debut against Culbertson was against the Travellers Club in Paris. We defeated them in some comfort, but at the farewell dinner Colonel G. J. J. Walshe, who had arranged the engagement in Paris, was most upset by a remark of Beasley's that on the return match the French team would be the guests of Crockford's. It was especially unfortunate because the Travellers had secured special teams at the Astoria Hotel in the Champs Elysees through the father of Sir James Goldsmith who owned the hotel.

From then on Beasley arranged matches against as many foreign teams as he could persuade to visit London. Austrians, Dutch and Germans came to stay at the expense of Crockford's and the club took first prizes in congresses at Bad-Pest, Vienna and Berlin. These international meetings were organized by the bridge leagues which had been founded in most European countries, and there had grown up the conviction, fostered by card-manufacturers, that a fortune could be made out of teaching the principles of contract. The members of Crockford's travelled with Beasley (mainly at their own expense) and played in his teams because they wished to please him, and had no idea that he was trying to build himself into a second Culbertson. He certainly had no new bidding system and had given little serious thought to the theory of the game.

Emmanuel Lasker, for 25 years chess champion of the world who had lately taken up contract, rejected Beasley's methods which were modified Culbertson, and invited me to sketch out my own ideas.

In 1932 the danger that Crockford's would collapse was becoming serious. For the first time in four years there was serious friction between the bridge and poker rooms. A protégé of two generous bridge customers was accused of sharp practice at poker and they threatened an action for slander on her behalf against Crockford's and its managers. By persuading the responsible hostess to apologize in writing I found myself a kind of buffer between Bates and Beasley and they invited me to join the committee. I accepted and proved very foolishly that my vanity overrode my common sense, because Mrs Bates had decided to take her followers to another club if she could not obtain what she called her "rights". She claimed that the profits from the card-rooms were being dissipated by Beasley in his pursuit of fame and she now was backed by the shareholders who were thinking of selling their interest in Crockford's Ltd if a buyer could be found.

Those who knew "Pops" as a gallant soldier, generous host and amusing companion, did not grasp that he had set his heart on achieving one ambition—to be regarded as the greatest bridge player in the world. He was a steady partner with no possible claim to distinction. However, he managed to have his photograph in the press whenever Crockford's won a match; he secured a bridge column in the *Daily Mail* in which he contributed and he was unable to see that he was too old for a grueling test which would last for a week.

Nobody wished to be his partner in the match against Cul-

bertson's team for the Schwaab Trophy in 1933. I found that I had been selected to be the "fall guy" but I had no intention of representing Crockford's except with a partner who understood my bidding. The *Daily Mail* was sponsoring the match, and after asking to withdraw I agreed to play only if Beasley were non-playing captain. The rest of the team was fully confident of being able to defeat the Americans because our average age was under 40 and our recent encounters gave us the edge over our older and more conventional opponents.

Beasley had a considerable sum of money in addition to his kudos at stake, and he agreed not to play. Then suddenly, four days before the match, he put his name in all the papers with me as his principal partner. I was particularly angry because not only had he broken his word but I feared that Crockford's would not produce its best players. I withdrew from the team as did one or two others, and the remaining half-dozen were not equal to the challenge.

After retaining a modest lead for half the match, the English pairs deteriorated and eventually lost by more than 10,000 gross points over 300 deals. One of Beasley's expensive mistakes was to leave his partner in a forcing bid of the opponent's suit. He should have grasped that he was being shown first round control of it but he imagined his partner to be showing a genuine suit. Sir Guy Donville went down seven tricks making only the ace of trumps and was made to look undeservingly foolish. This was Crockford's last claim to represent Great Britain internationally. The Portland Club re-emerged as the principal arbiter of bridge in Europe by publishing a new code of laws in agreement with the American Contract Bridge League.

The idea of conventional club was a mistake, because if players who spent as much time in fines would demand proportionate measures. At the same time it was plenty of money to give in a new campaign the secession of Bates had obtained counsel from no less a barrister than Gwynn Simmonds, KC (Chancery) that she claim against Beasley's Ltd. The cry went up, "This fine has cost the £10,000 a year to cover the overheads the same time to pay financial float of a £1 needed to pay the punctually every week."

It was resisted by a motion of a new company CHT (Carmichael, Hume, and Tait) and the club was put into liquidation. Bates had been an Indian millionaire's secretary, and she was the essential outgrowth of the finance accountants who were drawn with the club came with in the shape of an accountant, named, I ascribed me to join the committee in a notice to all the men the club was solvent Crockford's Ltd was Beasley had taken on the formal notice of Crockford's Ltd was in liquidation everyone at Crockford's, the club, was and that an extraordinary general meeting was in order that members be fully acquainted with the state of the club.

This meeting was though Beasley had powerless. He sought new friend and financial committee whose elected by the board in liquidation powers. informed the member only was out of the way to form a new club had already been found. However, the voted for Crockford's ried on by the existing fees who successfully from bankruptcy.

In the following this new committee was Beasley left having a post-1933 management new club founded and and Crockford's the most disastrous year late 1950s when it to rely principally on meet its liabilities. It had passed into the hands of a new management had kept Crockford's throughout the war after his death, was the good will and the a new syndicate for the of gaming under sessions of the net Acts.

Beasley in Green under the sign of the was beneficent agent British Bridge. Less had been founded, Manning Foster, the sponsor of the which now recognition, the world.

Not only was object of much the claiming to revive country, but he had the distrust of the club to headstone at 16 Carlton House where he had even members to go with Bates and her folk drew, eventually a new club at 111 Park Lane, and the bridge players was the Colonel there, thin attendance in rooms. The larger and the smaller the shareholders and they turned in a new campaign the secession of Bates had obtained counsel from no less a barrister than Gwynn Simmonds, KC (Chancery) that she claim against Beasley's Ltd. The cry went up, "This fine has cost the £10,000 a year to cover the overheads the same time to pay financial float of a £1 needed to pay the punctually every week."

It was resisted by a motion of a new company CHT (Carmichael, Hume, and Tait) and the club was put into liquidation. Bates had been an Indian millionaire's secretary, and she was the essential outgrowth of the finance accountants who were drawn with the club came with in the shape of an accountant, named, I ascribed me to join the committee in a notice to all the men the club was solvent Crockford's Ltd was Beasley had taken on the formal notice of Crockford's Ltd was in liquidation everyone at Crockford's, the club, was and that an extraordinary general meeting was in order that members be fully acquainted with the state of the club.

This meeting was though Beasley had powerless. He sought new friend and financial committee whose elected by the board in liquidation powers. informed the member only was out of the way to form a new club had already been found. However, the voted for Crockford's ried on by the existing fees who successfully from bankruptcy.

In the following this new committee was Beasley left having a post-1933 management new club founded and and Crockford's the most disastrous year late 1950s when it to rely principally on meet its liabilities. It had passed into the hands of a new management had kept Crockford's throughout the war after his death, was the good will and the a new syndicate for the of gaming under sessions of the net Acts.

Beasley was com wait several years, could form a new which he found a he (for himself) at 21 Place, Park Lane, in remained ill-disposed Crockford's, but exp feelings openly about management of his fo only when the Har reared for allowing p premises in 1948. He recognized how far had been throughout receiving support for members. His only re was in 1957 when th nate Joseph Crockford's in 1933, ley for plagiarism of in bridge articles-pu the *Daily Mail*, and damages.

Beasley died in 1964 after founding the Club.

Edward Mayer is a Bridge Correspondent.

THE TIMES
SPECIAL REPORT

The Archbishop, the Prince and the troubles which cast a shadow over Victoria's jubilee

In the first entry in his diary for 1887, directly beneath the dour heading "A Dreary Beginning," E. W. Benson, Archbishop of Canterbury noted "Strong opposition and wide apathy" were confounding his Church House scheme.

This proposal, the official commemorative venture of the established Church on the occasion of Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee, was not filtering alone, however. Also beset by substantial criticism and opposition were the two other major national subscription schemes to mark the event: the Women's Jubilee Offering, a financial collection promoted by an aristocratic organizing committee as the spontaneous tribute of the women of the kingdom to their sovereign, and the Prince of Wales's shapeless and ill-defined Imperial Institute, which Robert, third Marquess of Salisbury, Prime Minister, dismissed because it might mean "anything from a lecture room to a tea garden."

Collectively these troubled projects threw an oppressive shadow over the preparations for the occasion, exacerbating the already considerable difficulties of responsible officials who were having their own problems organizing an event that was largely without precedent and causing large sections of public opinion and the press to wonder whether the Golden Jubilee could ever be a success.

Although discussion of each of these schemes began a year or more before jubilee day, June 21, 1887, it was the Church House proposal which was first brought before the public. This was done through a letter to *The Times* on July 15, 1886, by Harvey Goodwin, Bishop of Carlisle, with the highest authorization.

In it he advocated bringing into existence in the year of jubilee a metropolitan meeting place for the revived Anglican Convocation, an idea discussed in church circles from as early as 1867.

It was one that especially appealed to the likes of Archbishop Benson who considered it would help him centralize his authority and further his control.

Archbishop Benson thus having determined that this would be a suitable memorial, it was not thought necessary to con-

sult more than a very few of his episcopal colleagues. Despite support from *The Times* and the Anglo-Catholic *Church Times* and from such eminent laymen as the Duke of Westminster and W. E. Gladstone, Church House very quickly ran into trouble, largely because there were many who felt something more useful might have been undertaken.

What they had in mind at a time of agricultural depression and falling tithes was a clerical relief fund to improve stipends and ameliorate conditions for poor clergymen.

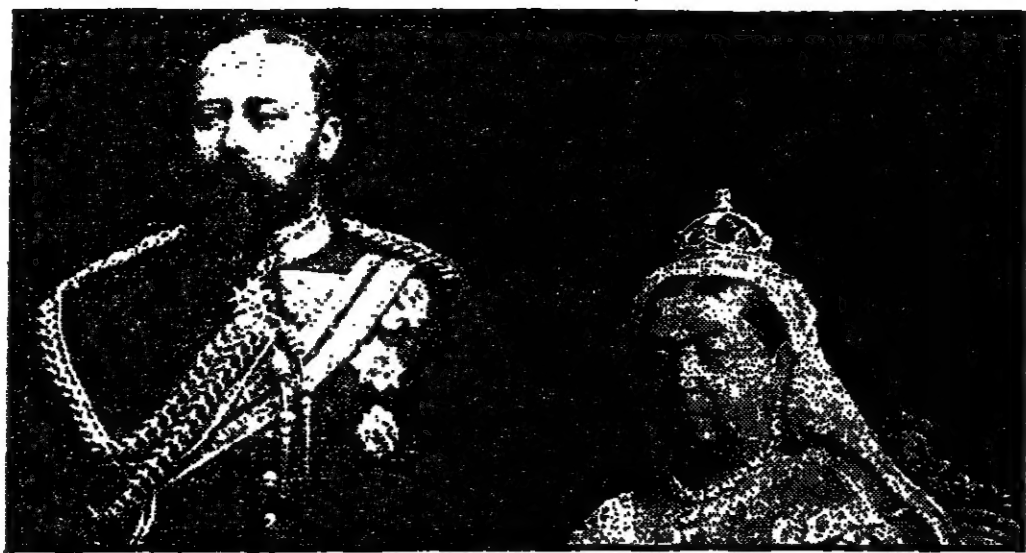
Throughout the summer, Archbishop Benson was silent about whether he would drop his plan and endorse what had by now come to be called the Queen Victoria Bounty Fund, leading its sponsors to become more hopeful about what the archbishop would do.

In October, however, at a great special meeting at Lambeth Palace, he blasted their hopes, averring that a clerical distress fund was an inappropriate way to mark the Queen's jubilee.

Following this announcement, the opposition which had been mostly private and moderate became strident and embarrassingly public, the more so since it was led by the *Standard*, the organ of the Conservative ministry then in power, the first major newspaper to oppose the scheme.

Though Archbishop Benson was privately discouraged, he tried yet another public meeting to arouse support, this time under the auspices of the Lord Mayor of London. And while he did not appear himself, Bishop Temple of London gave a speech in support, which, however, only succeeded in further infuriating critics of the proposal by suggesting that a clerical distress fund would inevitably lead to further demands for relief of poor clergymen which could be met only by a general redistribution of church income and a slashing of episcopal stipends and those of other affluent clerics.

With this event *The Times* softened in its support, dismayed at the result of this most unsatisfactory meeting. No wonder. After nearly six months of great publicity and the highest episcopal backing, the scheme had garnered no more than £13,000; one-third



Queen Victoria and the Prince of Wales: his ill-defined Imperial Institute was dismissed as "anything from a lecture room to a tea garden."

of which had been contributed by only nine people.

It is true, of course, that the Church House scheme did not die, instead limping into a feeble existence and long years of inadequate financing, but it did fade from public view after the Mansion House meeting in December, 1886.

Helping to drive it from the public's mind was the first announcement of a scheme which it was hoped would arouse great public enthusiasm and so set a proper tone for the occasion, the Women's Jubilee Offering. This was designed to be a movement of "girls of all classes, grades, and ages" and meant to present the Queen with a personal jubilee offering. Untroubled by politics, without selfish intent, it was thought to be the perfect thing and was to be met with nearly rapturous greeted.

Behind the scenes, however, there were crippling difficulties with this proposal, which in fact accounted for its delayed announcement months after it had first been considered.

These arose because the Queen had already decided, having vetoed the suggestion that the money collected be used to erect a statue of herself, that it should finance instead yet another of the Prince Consort.

Some inkling of Victoria's intentions seem to have come to the attention of *The Times*, for on December 21, 1886, the day following the first announcement of the offering, it advised her not to say what she would do with the money, not even on the day it was presented to her.

Unfortunately, whether the Queen decided to publicize her desire, or whether some zealous advocate of the statue such as Lady Cork (who was by far the member of committee most determined to have it) did so, it soon came to be public, with the inevitable result that contributions which had just begun to come in stopped altogether.

For the next two months, however, the general committee, which was wracked with furious arguments about what should be done, the jubilee suffering accordingly, as the fashionable ladies of both pro and anti statue opinion resorted to various stratagems (and the press) to gain their ends.

It was finally determined that most of the money should go to a charitable scheme under the patronage of the Queen (the committee decided it would be a nursing scheme for the sick poor) but that about £10,000 would be spent on an equestrian statue of

Prince Albert for Smith's Lawn, Windsor.

By the time this settlement had been reached (it was announced on September 20, 1886), restoring some of the much-reduced popularity of the Women's Jubilee, the third and most important of the jubilee subscriptions, the Prince of Wales's Imperial Institute proposal had also all but expired, assailed by a barrage of press and public criticism which rightly pointed out its various faults.

The idea for an Imperial Institute had grown out of a popular notion of South Kensington exhibitions, the last one being the Colonial and Indian Exhibition of 1886, popularly known as "the Colindale." Organized and promoted by a group of men closely associated with the prince and dubbed the "South Kensington Gang" by the press, the exhibitions had been lucrative undertakings which no one concerned wished to give up.

For the chief members of the gang, Sir Philip Colindale, Owen, director of the South Kensington Museum; Sir John Somers Vane, city agent for the South Kensington Exhibitions; and Cunliffe Owen's nephew Edward, as well as for their patron the prince, the jubilee seemed the perfect occasion to institutionalize them for all time.

Their difficulty, however, was that it would no doubt prove hard to move the public to contribute towards making permanent what was generally regarded as an amusement park with a colonial theme. Nothing daunted, the prince and his friends determined that the best way to meet this problem was by keeping their true intentions as vague as possible while crating on the royal finance, especially the Queen's, to gain subscriptions from the public and especially from colonial governments.

Senior Colonial Office officials had a very good idea of what the prince was about and they therefore urged him, long in advance of any public discussion of the scheme, to make his prospectus as serious and as detailed as possible. If these suggestions were not followed there would be serious consequences, they knew, for as the Honorable Robert Meade, Under Secretary, intimated: "There are here the seeds of a great disaster."

Neither the prince nor his associates ever had any intention of following this advice and so no such prospectus had been arranged when the scheme was publicized on September 20, 1886. At that point, however, the major metropolitan newspapers all fell into line and supported the proposal, even though details about its organization, financing, and administration were not given.

Privately, however, there were already significant problems. Lord Salisbury, having taken the opinion of his Cabinet, decided that the Queen would not be allowed to endorse the Imperial Institute as such a step would imply the responsibility of the government for its affairs. This decision, crushing to the hopes of the prince and the South Kensington Gang, all of whom expected to cash in on the jubilee and the good name of the Queen to promote their cause, provoked a rash of ever-more splenetic comments between concerned court officials and members of the government.

However, while the Queen herself wished to help "dear Bertie," she never argued against Salisbury's decision that no announcement of her support could be forthcoming until the Prime Minister agreed.

In the event there was little

the prince could do to move his mother and nothing he could do about Salisbury's threats to remove his name from the undertaking, so instead he took refuge in penitence.

In fact, however, everybody knew that the Queen approved of the Institute (later Ponsoby was allowed to publish a letter to the Mayor of Bedford to this effect), and the reason why it did not prosper in the eyes of the public was because no one wanted a continuation of the Colindale, not because it was not known how Victoria felt.

To make matters worse, on March 10 the *Financial News* began a long series of articles on the dealings of the "South Kensington Gang" in connection with the previous exhibitions which showed that these men, who were placed to control the Imperial Institute, had done very well indeed for themselves in salaries, perquisites and privileges.

As a result the *Pall Mall Gazette* wrote: "The Prince of Wales is at this moment perhaps in one of the most uncomfortable positions which he has ever occupied.... The prince has done himself considerable harm by allowing the officials of the Institute to surround him at South Kensington to abuse the patience of the public and create suspicions of dishonesty."

In the event, the prince, like Archbishop Benson, did not drop his scheme but continued to push until an inadequately financed and purposeless Imperial Institute was brought into existence, only to be shunted off a few years later by the Government.

Fortunately these ill-planned and often selfishly contrived subscriptions did not destroy the Golden Jubilee, though for many months they threatened to do so. Instead, the bulk of the people, having patiently waited for the influential organizers who promoted these schemes to adopt something sensible and utilitarian for the occasion were left with no other alternative but to ignore them when they chose not to do so, adopting their own, generally low means of marking the Golden Jubilee.

Dr Jeffrey L. Lant

© Times Newspapers Ltd 1977.

Problem of adding a new dimension

An occasional series on words and new meanings.

Most of us find it enough to make sense three-dimensional view world, without bending minds with a fourth, or further dimension. In the present, our present enthusiasm for figuration of dimension, as well as present.

In the archaic da Euclidean geometry space agreeably simple. *Dim* comes from the Latin *di* to measure. In English it is usually used in the adverbial sense of measuring or measure. This meaning is now obsolete. It then came to mean a kind or spatial extent or kind, as length, breadth, area, or volume. *Dimension* is one of the coordinates of position. *Time* has one dimension. A plane has two dimensions; length and breadth. A cube has three dimensions: length, breadth, and thickness. The fourth dimension could be described by a bold metaphor as time, and was described.

Over the past century the meaning of *dimension* has been complicated by opposing tendencies. Science, such as Einstein's, has been expanding the concept of dimension, while the arts, such as the cubists, have been contracting it. At the same time scientists have adopted very precise uses of the word.

The scientific use of *dimension* does not exist in a short newspaper and is not intelligible by way of short newspaper art. We must take it on trust. A *dimension* can now mean a physical extent of space. Let us not go into the Method of *D* signs, or dimensional analysis.

In this technical *dimension* means the power which any physical quantity has of being raised in the expression of a derived quantity or in terms of them. These are the "fundamental quantities" usually taken to be length, time, and mass, with addition of one or more quantities in certain cases (such as electrical and nuclear phenomena). Let us pause and leave the scientist to their own dimensions. No doubt, they know what they are up to.

In scientific discourse *dimension* has been adopted and adapted. It is used to mean the particular circumstances within someone or something. It is used to mean one of the aspects of a culture (the definition is "terms"), as in "every situation has environmental, or social dimensions" means the range over which the scientist which extends, as in the vastness of a disaster. It is the quality, character, or intellectual structure to or belonging to a person, means *literary* or *realistic* measures have either been ignored or rejected. The answer to rising unemployment, to lack of investment, to rising prices is to introduce democratic socialism, to take full control of the nation's resources to democratize industry at all levels and to make Parliament more responsive to the people's needs by changing it to meet the conditions of the modern world. The nationalistic solution is to solve all at all, and Nairn's book does not really help, it merely confuses. In any case, the breakdown of Britain is not inevitable. Queen's force has to be an old-fashioned Tory unionist, to say so.

The author is a Labour MP for Liverpool, Walton.

Philip H.

Eric Heffer

The one rock on which devolution could founder

Devolution is still on the agenda. Many MPs heaved great sighs of relief when the Devolution Bill "died" earlier this year. Their sighs were, however, in vain as Parliament is now faced with two Bills instead of one. The key question is will the Bills be "guilted" or, is, timebested? And the possibility of this happening in the forthcoming Parliament session is much greater than it was. Since March a great deal of backstairs negotiations have taken place, as a result of which the Liberals will almost certainly support a guideline, as will the Scottish and Welsh nationalists. In the circumstances, a Labour revolt, even if the Tories as a whole vote against a guideline, may not be enough to prevent it. If that is so, then in 1979 a Scottish Assembly will be meeting in Edinburgh. As to Wales, the outcome is slightly more doubtful.

There are those who argue that such assemblies are the only way to preserve the unity of Britain while others fear they are but the first step along the road to separatism. Whichever view is correct, the thorny question of representation at Westminster remains. For example, what precisely will MPs representing Scottish seats do? Most of their present legislative power will be taken over by the Scottish Assembly.

If such MPs participate in legislation which affects England and Wales only, they will be resented, just as the Northern Ireland MPs were resented when Stormont was in existence. This concern regarding the role of Scottish MPs is not new. In his book, *The Flag in the Wind*, Dr John MacCormick, a founder of Scottish nationalism, published proposals for a Scottish Parliament, which were the basis of the Scottish Covenant Campaign. Part of his proposals reads: "... Arrangements shall be made to provide that Scottish representatives in the United Kingdom Parliament shall not take part in any proceedings of Parliament dealing solely with English or Welsh domestic affairs. The position with regard to the representation of Scotland in the United Kingdom Parliament shall be determined thereafter by a Commission set up jointly by the United Kingdom Parliament and the Scottish Parliament."

It was quite obvious to the founders of the Scottish nationalists that things could not remain unchanged once a Scottish Parliament was established. Yet this question of representation at Westminster does not seem to have crossed the Government's mind. It is, however, the rock upon which the new plans announced by Michael Foot could founder once they are embodied in legislation.

Rethinking the subject, I have come to the conclusion that if Britain is to have devolved Governments, with Assemblies in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, then it must adopt a federal system, which will also allow England to have a separate Assembly. Westminster could remain a directly elected Federal Parliament. We could, however, dispense with a senate as that would be unnecessary duplication. If such a system is not ultimately adopted, then Britain could divide into hostile nation states, which would be a retrograde step. Surprisingly, I find myself in agreement with Lord Acton who wrote over a century ago: "A great democracy must either sacrifice self-government to unity or preserve it by federalism." The combination of different nations in one state is as necessary a condition of civilized life as the combination of men in society."

One of my reconsiderations of the subject since February has been the reading of Tom Nairn's *The Breakup of Britain*. It is a book of great interest and importance, despite its convoluted style. However, it is disappointing, because while it raises all the important issues, it fails to give a positive socialist answer to the phenomenon of nationalism, yet is written from a socialist standpoint. Nairn says: "The nationalist is a man who is a Marxist. I would argue, it is not so much a failure of Marxism, as a failure of the part of those who, like himself, profess Marxism, to grasp that with regard to nationalism there cannot ever be a schematic generalized approach."

Nairn actually tries to develop a general theory of nationalism and fails because it is possible to support the right of a people to proclaim their nationality, without their necessarily having a state of their own. If a people are being deliberately suppressed, if they are being denied their language, their culture, their history, etc., then the situation is one which calls for socialists to support those involved in their struggle for nationality. Socialists have always been divided on the issue of nationalism, Friedman, the Austrian socialist, in the Swiss socialist paper, *Volksrecht* in 1949, "I, like my father, always considered the complete assimilation of the Jews not only desirable but also

possible, and even the bestialities of Hitler have not shown us that Jewish nationalism is bound to lead to reactionary tendencies." Earlier, Rose Luxembourg had written, "For the followers of Marx, as for the working class, the Jewish question as such is not a matter of 'Yellow Peril' does not exist. From the standpoint of the working class, the Jewish question... is a question of racial hatred as a symptom of social reaction which is a certain extent, is an indivisible part of all societies based on class antagonisms."

Recognizing he had to deal with class, Nairn, meaningfully says, "Marxism has its own courage industry working away. We have our own balance, our own glib evasions to distinguish us from the common herd. And our speciality has always been 'class'." Yet, if class unity in struggle is not the answer to the current debate, like Eric Heffer in England, Leo Abse and Neil Kinnock in Wales, or Norman and Jemmy Buchan in Scotland—perceive a "British nationalism" that ethnic struggle and national hatred is the agency of movements like the SNP or Plaid Cymru. There is an element of justified alarm in their vision, which should be taken seriously.

Neither Austro-Marxism, nor

Luxembourgism offer this possibility. Unfortunately, history proves that when racists take place before a militant nationalist onslaught, disaster befalls the people involved. Can there be a serious future for Britain if it is divided up into three or four ethnic nations, each ruled by the nationalistic forces? That, surely, is a recipe for disaster and has nothing in common with socialism. My objection to the Common Market is not that it unites Europe, but that the Treaty of Rome perpetuates capitalism and places too many burdens on the working people of Britain. The concept of a united socialist Europe is one of which I approve, and that does mean giving up some of our own sovereignty. The way to achieve this, however, is not through the Common Market.

Nairn admits that there are dangers in the growth of nationalism, and writes: "The sharpest internationalist opponents of fringe nationalism are the current debate—like Eric Heffer in England, Leo Abse and Neil Kinnock in Wales, or Norman and Jemmy Buchan in Scotland—perceive a 'British nationalism' that ethnic struggle and national hatred is the agency of movements like the SNP or Plaid Cymru. There is an element of justified alarm in their vision, which should be taken seriously."

He rightly says that nationalism in England did not wait on the rise of separatism before it took on new alarming and retrograde forms. The truth is, the reasons for nationalism (I would call it racism). Developing in England, are basically the same as in Scotland, Wales and even Northern Ireland. It is the failure of the present economic system, and in particular the failure of recent Labour Governments to deal with that failure. The people have elected Labour Governments in times of crisis to change direction. Yet, too often Labour Governments have resorted to traditional capitalist economic policies to solve the problems. The measures have either been ignored or rejected. The answer to rising unemployment, to lack of investment, to rising prices is to introduce democratic socialism, to take full control of the nation's resources to democratize industry at all levels and to make Parliament more responsive to the people's needs by changing it to meet the conditions of the modern world. The nationalistic solution is to solve all at all, and Nairn's book does not really help, it merely confuses. In any case, the breakdown of Britain is not inevitable. Queen's force has to be an old-fashioned Tory unionist, to say so.

The author is a Labour MP for Liverpool, Walton.

Philip H.

Catch the Southampton Tide!

Ride high in yachting circles this September. Be among the first to know about the new boats and equipment at the Southampton Show. This month's Yachting World previews the major exhibits, classifies all the products on show and lists all exhibitors. Also: the full story of the 1977 Admiral's Cup, with results and the best action pictures; a preview of the Whitbread Round-the-World Race, including the design of Concord, the Bismarck 77 sailed by Robin Knox-Johnston; first details of the America's Cup; features on cruising in Tahiti and boatbuilding in Falmouth, and "Down the Barlaento Coast" with John Crookshank. Plus pages and pages of boats for sale.

Yachting World

Out today 55p

LEAPMAN IN AMERICA

In our duplex (two-floored) apartment on Roosevelt Island we now have the basic furniture we need to sustain life: beds, chairs and a table, a settee and a small Japanese colour television. There are many other things that we want or feel we ought to have—bookshelves, rugs, a desk, electric kitchen implements—and we have been testing a variety of ways of acquiring them.

It's a truism that American commerce thrives by first creating consumer demand, then fulfilling it. This is why you get the impression that Americans are constantly buying things. Advertisements for clothes, furniture and appliances often take up more space in the newspapers than the actual news. It's a truism that people you see rushing around the streets of Manhattan are clutching brown paper bags of varying sizes, containing the latest purchases.

It is therefore exciting to be in the position of actually needing things, of having a largely empty apartment waiting to be filled with the latest unrepeatable bargains. The trouble is that, so bewildering is the array of brash exhortations to buy, that it is hard to know where to begin.

We began by looking at the second-hand market. We have bought well at London auctions in the past (I mean second-hand junk, not priceless antiques) so we sought the equivalent here. An advertisement led us to a small auction room near Madison Square Garden, where the after-dinner two deceased ladies were being offered.

It was a rather scruffy collection of goods, most of it in the style of American furniture design which graces many of their medium-priced hotels, and which is over-elaborate to the English taste. The stuff was cheaply made, featuring dark lacquered wood with too many twirls, looking as though it may have been based on a reproduction of a turn-of-the-century style which was itself a reproduction of something earlier.

The high-pressure, wisecracking auctioneer tried to give the impression that he did not usually spend his time dealing with such shoddy stuff as this. He was careful to let nothing go too cheap. If there was not a high enough bid for an item, he would jump it in with the next lot. Nothing for us there.

Supermarkets let customers advertise free on their noticeboards so we put up an advertisement that we were in the market for furnishings. This had some interesting consequences—not in the sense that it led us to much that we wanted, but it provided a salutary lesson in caution.

Among the people who responded were some who, unable to resist the blandishments of the hucksters, had filled their homes with an excess of unsuitable objects, which they were now trying to unload. One man had bought at auction a black lacquer cabinet inlaid with mother-of-pearl—but in his eagerness, he had bought a mother-of-pearl had fallen over. He also had acquired a Victorian ladies' travelling desk, which his wife had begun to restore before dying half way. We expressed polite sympathy, while keeping our hands on our wallets.

A woman telephoned to offer some bits and pieces from her overstuffed apartment. They included what she called a "George Washington bedspread" in patterned white candlewick. You can see why we're selling, she confided. "You see, we used to be American colonial, but now we've gone French."

Help then came to us from an unlikely source—the British Information Service in New York. Now the job of the BIS is to give information to Americans about Britain, not to Britons about how to cope with America: but friends there gave me some valuable advice.

"You must," they said, "try the flea markets. These are second-hand shops run by charities which sell goods donated by their supporters—like the Oxfam shops in Britain. Apparently many British diplomats, impoverished by our country's parlous economic condition, buy their knick-knacks there, and they told me with relish about some of their choice purchases."

Unfortunately, the flea markets close during August, but the BIS people had not run out of ideas. On learning that a desk was among the items I was seeking, they suggested I should buy one from them. They had recently been selling off some old desks to staff, and there might be one or two left. There was in fact just one left, and I was led to the cellar of their Manhattan office building to take a look. It was a monstrous two-pedestal piece, much too big for the small spare room which will double as my study. Its blue leather top was indestructibly grimy. Moreover, the drawers were locked and there was no key.

The young man who showed it to me said that any offer would be considered, and I guessed that I might have it simply for the price of carting it away. Such even the prospect of finding juicy government secrets in the locked drawers could not persuade me to make the purchase.

Undeterred, and showing commercial enterprise to a degree which set a fine example to British businessmen abroad, the man tried to interest me in a couple of beds. What on earth I wondered, were the British Information Service doing with beds? But before I had time to speculate he told me they were surplus from a staff accommodation. If not beds, how about rugs? While continuing to admire this bit of British salesmanship, I managed to leave without making a purchase.

A few days later, advertisements appeared in the press and on the radio for Macy's warehouse sale. Macy's are the Saks of New York, with a huge store near midtown Manhattan and a number of branches in the other boroughs. Every so often they open to the public their warehouse in Queens for a couple of days of price-slashing.

The warehouse was indescribably enormous, with stacks of goods on slatted shelves reaching to the ceiling. So big was it that it was not until we were leaving that I noticed a full-length goods train parked inside by one of the walls.

It was like some vision of hell, except that the inmates were not insane, but temporarily confused by the array of goods on display and motivated by an intense desire for possession. Loops of white hung from the ceiling, providing the power for the dozens of electric cash registers which had been placed at central points. In many cases, the buyers needed to be highly motivated to have the stamina to complete the purchases. Four separate steps were involved: first find a salesman who would make out a sales ticket; then direct you to a queue in front of a trestle table, where delivery address and other details were taken.

We had brought some rugs and it was at this table that we had our first setback: the salesman had failed to put his department number on the sales ticket. When we tracked him down he said that he needed to put it on the ticket, but another salesman, agree, so with an ill grace.

Back to the table, from where we were directed to a position where a woman cashier operator made out the ticket. Only then were we allowed to join the longest queue in front of the cash register. Another setback there: the cashier operator made out in transcribing my credit number, and her machine mechanically began to "VOID, VOID, VOID" sales ticket. She had to start again.

As we left, the place was crowded, with people gazing across the floor, queuing to queue, looking at rugs and large boxes of electrical appliances. If they possibly need a sofa, we have an excellent one here. They must have been here for hours. Macy's warehouse sales must have clocked in a record for the endless quest for a mate bargain.

[illegible]

